

# **Suggestions for Formation of Human Settlements from A Case Study on Community Network Activities in Ayutthaya**

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## **The aim of this paper**

The slum issue comprises a problem area related to the establishment of sustainable human settlement in Asian cities in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. This paper discusses one facet of city systems, examining the various in changes in policies and systems aimed at improving the conditions in slums in Bangkok, the capital of Thailand. It then discusses research of particular cases of the daily life and activities to improve housing conditions in the community in the ancient, former capital of Thailand, Ayutthaya, with aim of analyzing this material for the hints it provides concerning sustainable human settlements.

## **1. The urbanization of Bangkok and the rise of slums**

The Thai capital of Bangkok, during the period from 1960 to 1980, experienced a rapid expansion in population. Behind this sudden increase was the flow of population into the city from outlying regional areas, one reason for this increase. This was a period of bad socio-economic conditions and construction of housing could not keep up with the demand so that squatters and slums quickly multiplied. According to Sapon's report, the number of slum areas in Bangkok exceeded 2,000 for the first time during the 1970s.

The rise of slums in Thailand had the effect making improvement of the daily life environment a central theme of housing policies and related activities. However, most of the inhabitants of slum areas belonged to the low-income segment of the population that depended on the informal sector for their livelihood. Thus, as Sapon points out, this made it necessary to also cope with the problems of

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obtaining employment, improvement in income level and stable residence as integral aspects of housing policies.

In Bangkok in the 1970s, slums were seen as interfering with the appearance of the city. Thus, many slum areas were targeted for elimination or forced removal to other areas. In 1973, the National Housing Authority (NHA) was established and began to play a central role in this process of slum elimination and removal and the construction of housing for low-income families. However, most of these policies such as slum elimination and removal resulted in moving the slum residents to new slums. Persons moved to new, low-income family housing often moved back to their slums. Others sold their rights to their new residences to third parties and moved back, thus creating a vicious circle. Therefore, rather than decreasing, the number of slums tended to increase.

From the latter half of the 1970s, the focus of policies regarding slums shifted to refurbishing the areas where low-income families were living and trying to improve conditions in the slum areas. The World Bank also provided funds for these efforts that included construction of sidewalks in slum areas, construction of drinking water and waste water systems, garbage dumps and the improvement of fire prevention systems. These efforts were related to cooperative efforts to carry out a slum improvement program involving the NHA and City of Bangkok that began in 1975, under the guidance of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

From the 1980s onward, the number of slums grew rapidly. From 1978 onward, the NHA developed a new policy. This new "Housing Policy" consisted mainly of putting more efforts into improving living conditions in slum areas, slum removal projects and various city planning projects. A special feature of these efforts was the shift toward efforts to get the persons living in the areas targeted for improvement to become involved in the improvement efforts. The inhabitants of these areas were encouraged to form organizations that provided a means for local residents to become involved in the improvement programs. This was also the era during which foreign NGO's with an interest in involving such inhabitant organizations began to establish local offices in Bangkok. These efforts by NGOs increased in scale during the 1990s.

With the coming of full-scale housing improvement activities, the sidewalks in slums were paved, drinking water and waste water systems were put in place and street lights were installed. However, although the physical aspects of the slums improved somewhat through the years, the housing situation as such did not

improve and, in addition, the income level of slum inhabitants did not improve. In other words, the problems related to social development and to economic independence remained.

## **2. CODI network support of housing development projects in slum areas**

Based on land-sharing projects in the largest slum area in Bangkok, the Klontoi Area, that began in 1973, the inhabitant groups that had been organized and the landholders began to cooperate in the construction of public housing and based on the use of the site and service method, the shared use of land began.

With the start-up of these environment improvement projects, with decades of organized resistance, and the cooperation of government and NGO personnel, the slum residents, and with accumulating experience, joint efforts were made to establish the rights of the residents of the slums to live in the slum areas permanently. With the environment improvement projects growing to full-scale, the sidewalks in slums were paved, the drinking water and waste water systems were put in place and streetlights were installed. Thus, the public space in the slums was improved, but the housing environment itself was not improved and income did not grow.

In order to deal with these problems, The NHA, in 1992, established the Urban Community Development Office (UCDO) and simultaneously established an Urban Needy Fund (1.25 billion bahts) and began to promote the social development of these areas. The City of Bangkok and the Community Committees operate the UCDO. It provides slum residents with economic support, and provides support for housing improvement. Specifically, one project, proposed by the Community Committees was aimed at getting each community to organize a savings cooperative to provide small loans for housing and residential environment improvements and for improvements of publicly-owned community facilities, etc.

Later, in 2000, the UCDO was merged with the Farm Community Development Fund and became Community Organization Development Institute (CODI). This merger brought new missions. Examples are creating savings groups in communities and promoting their activities. Another was to increase the level of support to promotion of community activities and support of the building and strengthening of a network between the various communities. In addition, CODI is loaning money for housing construction and other purposes to help members of the communities in

the network to achieve a higher level of self-reliance. Various kinds of information are also being provided and training programs are being promoted.

The basis of the local economy lies in the informal sector and for city slum residents who make their living by providing miscellaneous services, by activities carried out by individual families. Thus, these community level activities play a very large role. Construction of homes using self-help methods and the distribution system based on household production and consumption have within them the element of independence, but this works to drive down the productivity level of household labor and results in putting the informal sector into a vertical configuration. In comparison to this, micro-credit formed using group savings provides a way for slum inhabitants themselves to select an option that will help them to raise the level of their daily lives themselves. In addition, using the power and shared responsibility of these networked savings groups, it becomes possible to establish a finance system based on the interest levels of the market. In this way they can match the formal sector thus giving these activities two important meanings. CODI is supporting this type of type of network activities and, in contrast to the globalization of the formal sector, by organizing and supporting the network based on communities, it is playing the role of a catalyst in the process of making it possible for various slum communities to find their place in society through their own independent efforts.

### **3. The Ayutthaya network activity and slum community life**

Below, these types of activities in the ancient capital of Ayutthaya that are supported by CODI and the actual related daily life and housing improvements being made by the people of Ayutthaya involving the structure of community society and the creation of an environment conducive to permanent residence that can be observed by participant observation and that constitute an experimental community movement will be examined.

Ayutthaya is a small city with a population of 60,000 persons (As of 2000). The city is located approximately 75 km from Bangkok. Using its favorable geographical setting, the city has put its efforts into developing an industrial park that lies on outskirts of the city center to which the city has been able to attract industrial plants. The heart of the city was formally designated as World Cultural Asset in 1991. It has been designated an area that is to be preserved for the



protection of the historic environment of the area. Ayutthaya Island is located in the center of the city and most of this area belongs to the national government or local governing bodies. About half of this area (approximately 715 acres) has been designated as an historical park. In 2000, according to a joint survey carried out by the NHA, CODI and an NGO, there are 53 informal communities existing within Ayutthaya. A common characteristic of all of these communities is that most of their land is leased land, the housing is old and dilapidated and the density is growing greater. In the slums within the special protected area, there is some possibility of resettlement based on slum removal. In addition, in the various communities, the funds available for improvement of the residential environment are scarce and in order to get enough money to live, money is being borrowed at usurious rates from local, private money lenders and the number of families that are having difficulties paying off such loans is great. Given this type of situation, in 1998, in order to pay off such loans and to make improvements in the housing, a savings group was established in one of these communities. This was the birth of the Ayutthaya network. To support this activity, CODI made efforts to connect this community with other communities and organize their efforts. In 1999, 8 additional savings groups were established in their respective communities and the network began to function. By networking the respective communities to each other, this increased the strength of their collateral for borrowing money. These communities began exchanging information and they visited other communities outside the Ayutthaya area. In addition, construction of sidewalks and other joint projects for their community environments were carried out. In this way, the area network achieved a good reputation and the participating communities became able to borrow money from outside government organizations.

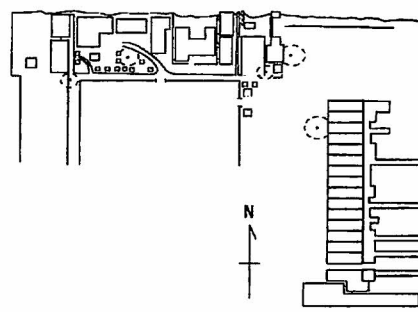
#### **4. The Wat Pichai Community environment improvement network activities**

In Ayutthaya, the number of communities participating in network activities has reached 11 to 13 communities. The reason that the number fluctuates is based on various factors related to the respective communities. These include such factors as the fluctuation in the number of residents that can continue paying in the fixed amount of savings to the community saving group each month and this reflects the conditions in some of these communities.

The Wat Pichai community started up its savings group activity in 1999. This

community consists of 31 households and has 45 families comprising a community population of approximately 200 persons. This community exists on leased land belonging to the temple of Wat Pichai and the community was established here about 50 years ago. This community is located near the railroad station serving Ayutthaya and the community is shaped in an “L” configuration (See figure, photo-1, photo-2). There are 17 “longhouse -style” buildings located along the nearby major road. In addition, in the same piece of land, along the northern side of the Karakohn Canal, there are 14 additional dwellings. Among these various dwellings, are many that are dilapidated and in need of rapid repair.

Within the community, there exists a self-government committee and a saving group committee and the selected members are participating in network activities. The group savings contribution is comprised of 100 baht monthly savings deposit from each household, the minimum deposit and approximately 20 households are participating in the program.



**Figure** Layout diagram of the Wat Pichai community



**Photo-1** Longhouse-style buildings along main road



**Photo-2** Single houses along canal (left side of photo)

All families in this community are leasing the land they live on from the Wat Pichai temple. The contract states that it will be renewed each year. However, in

September 2000, Wat Pichai, the owner of the land, demanded that all the families move off the property and there were rumors that forced removal would take place so that continued residence was threatened and an unstable situation arose. When they received formal notice that they were to move off of the property from the temple, the residents formed a committee and, while receiving advice from the Network, by carrying out organized resistance, in December 2000, it was negotiated that by paying an annual 300 baht per household land leasing fee, that they could conclude contracts with the temple for a term of 15 years and the disturbance ended. This event is an example of an outcome based on the Network acting in behalf of the community during the negotiations with the landlord. It was a successful solution that could not have been achieved in this way if only the two parties had been involved. The Network took the side the weaker party, supplying the residents with legal advice, helping with the documents and representing the community with regards to legal procedures. This made it possible to move through the negotiation process rapidly and without delays. In addition, later, the Network held a meeting with the residents to explain how, with the assistance of the network, it was possible to get the NHA to carry out projects in this community and as a result a project to widen the main road located in front of the longhouse buildings was carried out using these methods. The NHA paid 700,000 bahts for funds for the road widening. The project began in November 2001 and was completed in 3 months. In addition, as part of the project, all the longhouses were repainted. To get funds for this, the network borrowed the funds from the Miyazawa Fund.

In this way, the Wat Pichai community, building up its borrowing record, was able to borrow public funds and move forward step by step with its improvement activities.

## **5. The people of the Wat Pichai community**

What kind of people are the residents of the Wat Pichai community? The human relations within the community are relatively complicated, but it should be pointed out that the community comprises a type of social model for the attainment of fixed residence. This community is characterized by the process that it uses to cope successfully with occasional outside influences that impinge on the community.

The first factor that probably should be mentioned is the character of the leader

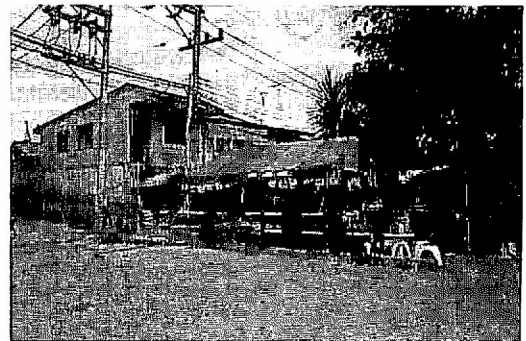
of the community. This person was quick to realize the value of the Network and worked to establish a savings group. In the community itself, virtually no one is called by their real name. In most cases, they are called by their nicknames or informal names. The leader was called by her nickname, “Khun Tim” (See photo-3, 4, 5). The leader operates a restaurant and sundries store located in the corner of one of the longhouses. She owns the longhouse and collects rent from the other three families that lived in the building.

She was born in 1956 and is the mother of two sons. Her husband died from a sickness. She and her oldest son run the family business. The younger son is studying to become a professional singer and is currently in Bangkok. “Tim’s” business is located close to a tourist hotel. The employees of the hotel often use the restaurant for quick meals. Occasionally, some of the tourists also drop in so that the store and restaurant are always busy. Therefore, she is relatively well off and she lives a comfortable life.

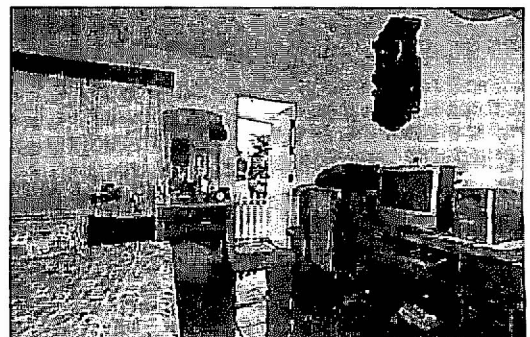
Khun Tim was first chosen the community leader in July 2000. Until that time, she had been busy helping the business to recover from the effects of her husband’s premature death. She had little time to socialize with the residents of the community. However, there are few families in the community that keep completely to themselves so that most resident socialize with their neighbors as necessary. The opportunity that led to her being recommended to become the community leader was based on a chance invitation from a community leader of another community to attend a periodic meeting to explain the



**Photo-3** Khun Tim



**Photo-4** Outside of her house



**Photo-5** Inside of her house

activities of the Network. She came away thinking that it would right for her to contribute to the progress of the area and it would be beneficial for her own family as well.

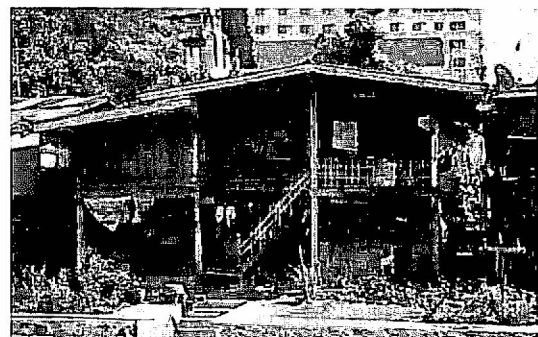
Since the time she first became the community leader, she has resigned her post two times. This is her third time to take on the responsibility of community leader. Concerning the reasons for her resignations, she say there were many unreasonable expectations and insults seemingly based on the difference in income level between her and many of the residents. She privately confessed that these incidents upset her and she resigned in anger. However, she accepted the post again.

There are always some altercations occurring between the residents of the community. Many times the rules are broken. However, the community is an aggregate of families that is always functioning. Most of these persons are permanent residents and it is necessary to have leaders who pull these people forward. For the establishment of an ongoing regional society, the persons who live in a given area must follow the rules that have been established for living together and wisdom is necessary. It is necessary to the have the sensitivity to understand each other's feelings and to follow the rules of etiquette of the group that are necessary for living together. Tim believes in the unwritten etiquette and wisdom that exists among the residents and has accepted the role of leader and continues to carry out her duties.

The next example is Khun Marai (See photo-6, 7, 8). He was born the first son of a farming family in 1930 in the Thonburi District. He is the father of two sons and one daughter. He currently lives in a house situated on the bank of the Karakohn Canal with his wife and his son's family (Total : 5 persons) Marai was the first resident of the Wat Pichai community area. He is currently retired, but in the fruit season, he goes to the growing areas and comes back with large quantities of fruit that he retails and wholesales. He claims proudly that in one trip he can



**Photo-6** Khun Marai (center of photo)

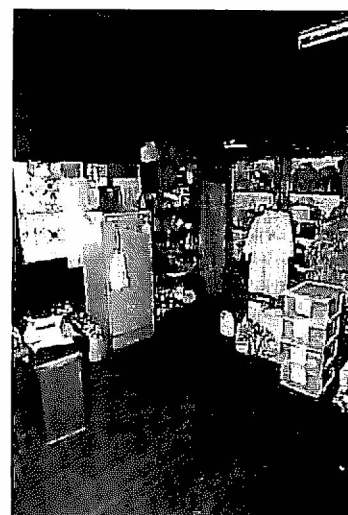


**Photo-7** Outside of his house



achieve cash sales of 10,000 to 20,000 bahts.

Until the time that he left Thonburi, Marai worked growing fruit. He met the woman who would become his wife when she came to the fruit orchard where he was working to buy fruit. They were married in 1952 and Marai switched from growing fruit to wholesaling fruit and has continued to wholesale fruit up to the present time. Since he has had growing fruit experience himself, he is very skilled at selecting fruit. When the two married, they moved to his wife's home area, Ayutthaya, and began their married life. At that time, there were thriving floating markets around Wat Pichai. They bought a small boat and his wife and two children lived on the boat and began selling fruit. Later, when the floating markets were discontinued, they moved to their present location where they built a simple building with a roof, but open on all sides. Then, after their oldest son was born, in order to have a house with rooms, they built a wooden house on a raised platform on the same land and are living in this house currently. When the floating markets were abolished, they no longer needed their boat so they sold it and bought a 2-ton truck and began to put all their efforts into the fruit wholesaling business. They buy fruit at the Ayutthaya Central Market and sell it to retailers in the area. Now on land rather than water, the husband and wife divided their work with the wife starting to retail fruit at the market. At this time, in order for the wife to obtain a place at the market to sell, it was necessary to obtain a license and for her to obtain the rights to buy fruit, select it and wholesale it, all of which required that she buy contracts that required a total of 500 bahts. She paid this money to the Ayutthaya City Market Control Office and then obtained the right to do business. Her stall at the market is 2 meters wide at the front and she pays 2.5 baht per day to use it. Marai was using a stall that was 15 meters wide so he was paying 15 baht per day.



**Photo-8** Inside of his house

The fruit that they sell is purchased directly from the farms where it is grown. The type of fruit they handle includes lamp-tan, driman and mango-sutin from May into July that they buy at Chathanaburi. From July through September, they handle only litchi obtained at Chain Mai. However, they handle pineapples throughout the year (Chonburi Province and Prachuap Khiri Khan Province). In



addition, since Marai has high skill at selecting fruit, they have a good reputation and are wholesaling fruit to many hotels, restaurants and schools in the Ayutthaya area.

The thing that worries Marai the most is his grandchildren's future. Mari and his wife were unable to go to school frequently enough to obtain a primary school education. They remember the many troubles they had in the past since they lacked education. Because of this, their own children received an education and they want to see that their grandchildren also receive an education. At the very least, they want them to have a college education. In the past, they thought that their children and grandchildren would simply follow them into the business. However, there is severe competition in the business and the risks are great. Thus, recently, they have come to want their children to be able to have steady occupations and lead comfortable lives by becoming employees of the government.

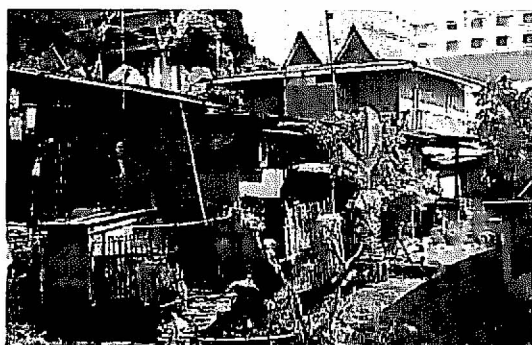
Marai is not participating in the savings program, but his son, for the purpose of housing improvement is participating and is saving 100 bahts every month. Since Marai is satisfied with his present home, there is no need to rebuild. The only need is to repair the roof. Marai's son is participating in the savings program mainly to cooperate. The son himself says that he wants to continue living in the same house as the present one. However, since it stands on leased land, Marai has received about 40 square meters of land from his father that is located in Thonburi and wants to live there with his son and family.

In the case of Marai, since he was relatively well-off economically, at the various stages of life such as marriage, changes in occupation, birth of children, education and occupation of children, etc., he has been able to select where he wanted to live, the type of housing he wanted, the way he wanted to socialize with his neighbors and how he is going to spend his old age.

The next example is Khun Laait (59) who lives next-door to the west of Marai. Laait is from Ayutthaya and lives with her son and second daughter (See photo-9, 10, 11). Her husband died of a stroke in 1994. At that time, her husband was employed at a company and she received his retirement allowance and other money in condolence that amounted to 200,000 bahts. She spent 140,000 bahts to buy a used house and is



**Photo-9** Khun Laait



**Photo-10** Outside of her house painted in green



**Photo-11** Inside of her house

currently living in this house. Her present income comes from doing the wash each day for the Yuufi family that runs a retail store in the same community for 300 bahts per month. Her son is still in high school so that he cannot work. The biggest earner in Laait's family is her daughter who works at a local plant operated by a Japanese company. The plant works three shifts and to earn as much money as possible for her family, she works the night shift.

Laait was participating in mutual finance association in order to become able to borrow money for home improvement and for setting up a business. Rather than borrowing money through CODI, if possible she wanted to repair her home without such borrowing. She received 5000 bahts from her daughter when her daughter received her bonus and used this money to put sheets of corrugated metal on the roof and walls of her home. She said, "Because of the improvements I made, there are no longer any leaks and the wood does not get wet and slimy. That was very unpleasant. Since the metal sheeting was put on the house, nothing like that happens any more. However, when there is a driving rain, the raindrops make a sound when they hit the roof and this is a bit of a problem. But, there is no more leaking so this has been a very good change in our daily life." For Laait, her savings are one form of insurance for her, but basically she tries to avoid going into debt. Since she lost her husband, she has carefully saved what remains of his retirement pay. She wastes nothing and lives a simple life. She has almost no income so that she does not want to borrow money that she has no way of repaying. She has never liked to borrow money so that she lives within her means. This is her principle for her daily life and it determines her lifestyle. She places great importance on socializing in the community and thinks that if she needed an emergency loan, she could get one from the Community Savings Group and so she started saving money using the savings program. However, she stopped after 7 months. The reason was

that a family that had many problems took over the collection of her monthly payments.

The main cause of this problem was the Khun Yongyut family that lives in same group of house along the Karakohn Canal as Marai and Laait.

Yongyut lives in one of four connected homes, the other homes being occupied by his mother, Khun Sanbia, his older sister Khun Nida and family and his younger sister, Wainda and family. Yongyut works as driver for the local electric power office. He lives with his wife, Wasana, and their two children (See photo-12, 13, 14).



**Photo-12** Khun Yongyut (center of photo) and his family



**Photo-13** Outside of his house



**Photo-14** Inside of his house

Yongyut and his wife were formerly members of the Community Committee and were active collecting savings deposits. However, they soon stopped. They were blamed for embezzling some of the cash they collected and quit to take responsibility. Yongyut's family fell into debt because their need for money for

treatment of his wife's sickness and because they had borrowed money at usurious rates from local money lenders so that his wife could set up a food wagon at the dining room of a primary school and were unable to pay their debts. In addition, they were also borrowing from a member of the community and were repaying this debt at the rate of 1000 bahts a month, but were two months behind so that the matter became a court case.

Yongyut learned that he could borrow money from the Community Savings Group at the rate of 2%. So he joined the Group for the purpose of becoming able to borrow cheap money to repay his high interest debts. In order to borrow from the Group, instead of making monthly savings deposits of over 100 bahts for the required six months, he mistakenly thought that he could borrow immediately by making a lump deposit of 600 bahts or more. The trouble started with this mistake and he stopped his activities connected with the Savings Group. In addition, in order to make home improvements, he entered a savings program, but quit and rejoined several times so that the residents of the Community began to take a disliking to him and he gradually alienated the Community.

On one occasion, there was a move by the Savings Group to loan families with financial difficulties emergency up to 2000 baht. Yongyut heard about this and thought he would surely be able to get a loan. However, he had not made the required six months of continuous deposits and did not indicate any clear plan on how he intended to repay the loan so that he was unable to borrow any money. These happenings and the fact that his attempts to use money borrowed from CODI to repay other loans became prohibited by the Community Network and led to his embezzlement of the Savings Group money.

Thus, Yongyut and his sisters' families continued to cause problems between the Community and the Network for a period of time and he became seen as a source of trouble within the Community. However, the Community leader, Tim, did not think that he originally had the intent to steal money and there were other residents that held the same opinion. However, they thought that he and his family handled their family affairs foolishly and made the assumption that if they had trouble, they expected to be helped by others. Concerning this kind of behavior, it can be said indicate the remaining influence of the classic Thai village inter-group relationships based on what are called pseudo-sibling relationships referred to as "patron and client" behavior that can be found underlying mutual assistance thinking.

## 6. In closing : What can be learned from the Wat Pichai Community?

Examining the Wat Pichai examples, it is possible to learn about many different aspects of life in this Community, including lifestyles, perceptions of multi-unit housing, the structure and relationships of regional institutions, the multi-habitat environment and the effects on community life emanating from changes in the larger cities. Looking at the interplay of all these complicated inner nuances of the regional community, the following areas concerning the creation of permanent, stable community residence can be said to be important to note : ① Coping with the required lifestyle, ② Coping with the different stages in life, ③ Consciousness of the community as a reference group, ④ Being streetwise, and ⑤ The unwritten codes that influence behavior in regional societies.

Regarding ① and ②, the occupations of the residents, their yearly income and their family composition, etc. are interlinked factors. Lifestyles change with changes in the stages of life. In connection with these changes, it is desirable that it be possible to select the area where one wants reside. In this case, one necessary pre-condition is that the socio-cultural foundations of the various regional areas be stable. Therefore, the building up of such regions where there are varying lifestyles to choose from, in other words, the creation of areas with multiple functions where many encounters and direct communication can take place is important.

In this connection, the points that should be noted are related to ③, ④, and ⑤. By means of participation observation, it was possible to come to understand that within the communities, very subtle differences exist on one side of a street compared to the other side. In other words, based on the areas from which the residents come, their race, their occupation type (formal sector or informal sector) and differences in cultural influences, there are many different subtle differences that can be observed. The streets themselves may be narrow, but they are managed autonomously and function as public space and are alive with evidence of the efforts of residents to understand each other and the symbiosis of etiquette, morals, and the positioning of the community as their reference group.

In Thai society, there is a deep-rooted classic form of mutual reliance of the so-called “patron and client relation” type. Their local leaders tend to be the “village headman” type of persons that can, on occasion, find work for a resident, help to find money when they need it and negotiate with the authorities in their behalf when this is necessary and can be relied on by residents for the purpose of

building autonomous, communities with strong ties to their various regions. With reference to the term “streetwise”, if the word “streets” is read “community”, they can be seen as having the possibility of becoming a new form of public space for cooperation within the community. Although there exist differences between the residents of the community that residents must cope with when building community understanding, ways of life and common morals, there is a need to make use of these things in the process of creating a human settlements environment in the large cities of Asia. It is possible to perceive this type of community a model for multi-habitation environment that marks the end of 20<sup>th</sup> Century system of city growth and stages of development and indicates a transition to a 21<sup>st</sup> Century decline and regeneration of the city.

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## 要 約

タイ、アユタヤのコミュニティネットワーク活動に関する事例研究がアジア大都市の定住環境形成に示唆すること

スラム問題は、21世紀のアジア大都市の定住環境の形成にとって大きな課題である。本稿では都市政策の一環として、タイの首都バンコクにおけるスラム改善方策の変遷をみた上で、古都アユタヤにおいて生活・住宅改善活動を実践しているコミュニティの事例研究から得られた知見をもとに、定住環境形成に対する示唆を考察することをねらいとした。

アユタヤのワットピチャイコミュニティの事例からは、さまざまな生活スタイル、集住意識、地域組織の構造的関係、混住的 (multi-habitat) な環境、さらには彼らを取り巻く都市環境の変遷などが窺い知れる。こうした複雑な奥行きをもつコミュニティからみて、定住環境の形成には次のような点が重要といえよう。

すなわち、①ライフスタイルへの対応②ライフステージへの対応③コミュニティに対する準拠集団 (reference group) 意識④ストリートワイズ (Streetwise) ⑤地域社会におけるコード (成文化さ



れていない規範)である。

①と②については、住民の職業、年収、家族構成などとリンクしてくる要因である。生活様式はライフステージと共に変化し、それにともなって生活する地域も選択できることが望ましい。この場合、ひとつは、それぞれに地域の社会的文化的基盤が安定していることが前提条件となろう。いまひとつは、多様な生活スタイルが選択可能な地域、すなわち出会いや直接的なコミュニケーションが可能な用途混在型の地域の形成も重要である。

関連して注目すべきは③、④、⑤である。参与観察によってわかったことであるが、コミュニティ内で路地を挟んで微妙な「差異性」が存在するということである。つまり、コミュニティ住民の出身地、人種、生業(フォーマルセクターかインフォーマルセクターか)、そして文化などのちがいによって、微妙な差異をうみだしている。狭い路地ではあるが、そこ(路地)は自律的な管理のもとに公共空間としての役割を担っており、住民が他者を理解しようとする生き方、エチケット、モラルライフ、準拠集団としての位置づけをとともう共生の作法が息づいているのである。

タイの社会では、伝統的に互酬性に基づく擬似的兄弟関係(パトロン・クライアント関係)が根強い。仕事の紹介、生活費の調達、地主との交渉、住民にとって頼りになる親分がリーダーとなって、自治的、地縁的なコミュニティ組織を構築している。ここでストリートワイズについて、ストリートをコミュニティに読みかえてみるならば、コミュニティでの協働は、新たな公共空間構築の可能性を担っていると考えられる。差異性をもった住民相互が、混住する中で築いてきた他者を理解する生き方やモラルが、アジア大都市の定住環境の形成に生かされることが必要である。定住環境としての混住というモデルは、「20世紀システムの都市成長・発展段階」から「21世紀システムの都市衰退・再生段階」への変容と考える。